THE COMMON PEOPLE OF POMPEII

BY

HELEN H. TANZER

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1929

(Extract from a complete volume published by the Johns Hopkins Press)

BALTIMORE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

1939

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41547016_0151

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF POMPEII

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

FIG. 1. THE BAY OF NAPLES.

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF POMPEII

BY

HELEN H. TANZER

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1929

(Extract from a complete volume published by the Johns Hopkins Press)

BALTIMORE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

1939

Copyright 1939, The Johns Hopkins Press

R. UNIV.
BIBLIOTHEEK
LEIDEN

Printed in the United States of America
by J. H. Furst Company, Baltimore, Maryland

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

MY PARENTS

PREFACE

Many scholars have studied the graffiti of Pompeii from many points of view, but in this little book I have attempted to show what I think has not been sufficiently emphasized—the light that these inscriptions throw on the life of the common people. I trust that my readers will feel with me that under the vivifying influence of the study of the graffiti Pompeii ceases to be a dead city and the streets surge with life.

My thanks are due to Professor David M. Robinson for his great kindness in reading and criticizing the manuscript and again reading the book in proof.

HELEN H. TANZER

Washington
October, 1939.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
Dedication		iii
List of Illustrations		xi
CHAPTER		
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Clothing Trades	8
III.	The Bakers	19
IV.	Food and Food Dealers	28
V.	Inns and Eating Places	41
VI.	Various Occupations	52
VII.	The Spectacles	68
VIII.	Other Interests of the People	83
Bibliography		97
List of Inscriptions		103
Index		111

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Frontispiece. The Bay of Naples. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii.*	
2.	Fullers at Work. *Real Museo Borbonico*	10
3.	The Fullers' Press. *Real Museo Borbonico*	11
4.	The Fullery. *Real Museo Borbonico*	12
5.	At the Fullery. *Real Museo Borbonico*	13
6.	Vestiarii. Photograph by courtesy of the ENIT	15
7.	Felter's Shop. Photograph by courtesy of the ENIT	16
8.	Shoemakers. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks,* etc.	18
9.	Reconstructed Mill. Mau-Kelsey, Fig. 221	20
10.	A Mill. Mau-Kelsey, Fig. 220	21
11.	The Vestalia. *Real Museo Borbonico*	22
12.	Carbonized Bread. From a photograph	24
13.	Distribution of Bread. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks,* etc.	25
14.	Bread Peddler. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	27
15.	Selling Food. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	29
16.	Peddlers. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	30
17.	Fishing. After Mazois	33
18.	Olive Mill. Mau-Kelsey, Fig. 186	35
19.	Pressing Oil. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks,* etc.	36
20.	In a Wine Shop. From a photograph	38
21.	Delivery of Wine. *Real Museo Borbonico*	39
22.	Shop—Reconstruction. After Mazois	43
23.	Thermopolium. From a photograph	44
24.	Gladiators. Mazois	46
25.	At an Inn. *Real Museo Borbonico*	48
26.	A Cup of Wine. Gusman	49
27.	The Landlord out of Patience. After *Not. Scav.,* 1876, Pl. VII	50
28.	Shoe Peddlers. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	57
29.	Selling Shoes. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	57
30.	Cloth Merchants. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	58
31.	Selling Cloth. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*	58

FIGURE PAGE

32. Faber Aerarius. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano* 60
33. Carpenters. Jahn, *Darstellungen des Handwerks*, etc..... 61
34. Carpenters' Guild. *Pitture antiche d'Ercolano* 62
35. Dealbator. After Blümner, *Technologie* 65
36. Theatre Scene. After *Real Museo Borbonico* 69
37. The Amphitheatre. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei* 72
38. Exulting in Victory. After Mazois 74
39. A Tense Moment. Mazois 75
40. Venatio. Mazois 77
41. Gladiators. Mazois 79
42-46. Graffiti, facsimiles 86-91
47. A Dispute. After *Not. Scav.*, 1876, Pl. VI 92
48-49. Graffiti, facsimiles 94-95

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF POMPEII

A STUDY OF THE GRAFFITI

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of Pompeii like its name are shrouded in darkness. We know that it existed in the seventh century B. C. when the Greeks colonized the western part of Italy because there are a few remains of buildings which can be positively dated. The inhabitants of those early days were Oscans, a people related to the Latins but differing from them in language, as is proved by inscriptions. Somewhat later the Etruscans captured the city and held it until the Samnites seized it about 420 B. C., coming down from the mountains in the interior. Under the influence of the Greek colonies of southern Italy the Samnites, a people related to the Oscans, developed a civilization superior to that of the Romans of the period. The Samnite Wars with Rome, from 343 to 290 B. C., resulted in a victory for the Romans. Two hundred years later, in the Social War, 90 to 88 B. C., Pompeii was besieged by Sulla, but it was not until 80 B. C. that it was taken by his veterans and became a Roman colony. It was governed by Publius Sulla, nephew of the Dictator, and soon grew to be like all the other small Italian towns. Pompeii now received the name of Colonia Veneria Cornelia Pompeianorum, after Sulla's own name. He belonged to the Cornelian gens and believed that he owed his great good luck to Venus, his patron goddess.

Pompeii lay in the Bay of Naples (see Frontispiece), one of the most beautiful spots on earth. Misenum, Baiae, Cumae, the Phlegraean Fields, Pozzuoli, Naples, Herculaneum and Pompeii, Stabiae and Sorrento—once seen can never be forgotten, far as they have fallen from their ancient glory. Even before the close of the Republic the leading men of Rome liked to visit Campania and many of them had villas in that neighborhood, Cicero among others, and his rival in the field of oratory, Hortensius. In the first century of the Empire also it was a favorite sojourn of wealthy Romans who came to seek peace and rest from the cares of the City in its delightful climate. Pliny the Elder had a villa at Misenum; indeed, it was from that place that he set out to investigate the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius that destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, where he too lost his life, as is recorded by his nephew.[1]

The permanent residents of Pompeii were largely well-to-do peasants and prosperous freedmen. The number of inhabitants is variously estimated at from 25,000 [2] to 50,000.[3] This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the population was greatly augmented at certain seasons by the Romans who used it for their villegiatura. The wealthy Romans always moved a large part of their households with them in their travels, and this practice made business for the town and required an army of tradesmen and workers of various kinds. The provision for spectators in the places of amusement seems excessive for the population, but we know that people from the neighboring towns of Ischia, Pozzuoli and Capua [4] formed a part of the audience when spectacles were being given. Nola, Nuceria, and Acerra, towns in the interior, were closely associated with Pompeii. The small theatre had a seating capacity of 1500;[5] the large theatre could accommodate 5,000,[6] and

[1] Plin., *Ep.*, VI, 16 and 20.
[2] Frank, *Economic History*, p. 245.
[3] Nissen, p. 377.
[4] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1293.
[5] Mau-Kelsey, p. 155.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

the dimensions of the amphitheatre Mau gives [7] as 460 by 345 feet; its seating capacity is estimated at 20,000.

Boissier [8] considers Pompeii a second-rate town, while Dill [9] calls it third-rate; it was an active city [10] and carried on much business. It was governed by a city council,[11] as was usual in the Roman colonies. There were two kinds of officials, the two Duumviri Iuri Dicundo, who had charge of administering the laws, and two Aediles, whose business it was to supervise the policing of streets, the buildings, the markets, etc. The special duumviri called Quinquennales, who were elected every fifth year, had additional duties. Mau [12] says that the Duumviri Quinquennales were like the Censors at Rome, whose duty it was to enumerate the population. These officials served for one year. Citizens voted in the district in which they resided and the candidates for city office who carried the majority of the districts were elected. These officers of government were mostly only the little people and, as in modern small town life, often the business men or the artisans. It was a true democracy. At election time the whole town turned out to secure as many votes as possible for their favorite candidates, and not only the citizens, who had the vote, but also the corporations and individuals who had no vote—women, children, gladiators, Jews—expressed their preference, warmly advocating the election of the man of their choice and lauding his qualifications for the post he sought. We know this from the graffiti which have been found in every quarter of the city. These inscriptions were scratched on the walls of buildings, for the most part, with a sharp instrument, or else scrawled with charcoal or with red chalk.

These election notices are particularly valuable because many of them give not only the names of candidates but their

---

[7] Mau-Kelsey, p. 213.

[8] Boissier, *Rome et Pompéi*, p. 343.

[9] Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 222.

[10] Boissier, p. 388.

[11] Mau-Kelsey, p. 12.

[12] *C.I.L.*, IV, 3785, 3865, 5352; Mau-Kelsey, p. 13.

occupations, as well as the names and business of individuals and guilds recommending them for election. Whether these supporters received any advantages from their advocacy other than the satisfaction of self-advertisement or the pleasure of being associated with the great and the near-great, it is impossible to tell. Among those mentioned in the graffiti we find artisans and workers in various fields of activity as well as members of guilds that help us to reconstruct a picture of life in Pompeii.[13] There are farmers, mule drivers, ball players, porters, carpenters, innkeepers, fishermen, bakers, barbers, jewelers, shoemakers, dyers and cleaners and many more.

Many of the permanent residents of Pompeii lived on their incomes without engaging in any business, but the great number of shops, storerooms and work rooms indicates great industrial and commercial activity. Many of the shops were parts of residences. Business was carried on in almost all the streets, Mercury Street being an exception, as the houses on it are all without shops. Abundance Street was almost entirely given up to business. Professor Rostovtzeff [14] points out that a very important feature of the economic life of Pompeii was the progressive industrialization of the city which excavations in Abundance Street show to have been going on for nearly a century. It had been a residential street to some extent as late as the beginning of the first century A. D. One reason why shops were tolerated in a residential district is that in the genial climate of Campania most of the time was spent out of doors, as is the case today, and the houses faced inward in the fashion familiar in the patio type of house throughout the Latin countries. The peristyle gave freedom and privacy to the household.

The graffiti help us to visualize Pompeii as resembling a watering place of today with a limited population of its own enormously increased during the season by the advent of per-

[13] Gercke and Norden, II[3], p. 12.

[14] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History*, p. 514.

sons bent on pleasure. All the business life is speeded up in the season; the city literally lives on its guests.

Not all the graffiti, of course, are election notices. Many of the inscriptions played the part in the lives of the inhabitants in the first century that is taken today by the handbills and posters, like the announcements of the gladiatorial shows which appealed to the people as much as the circus does to us. Others remind us of newspaper advertisements of business, of real estate, of lost and found articles; or are comparable to personal and public notices. Many are bits of local news such as we find in the country papers—"Romula stayed here with Staphylus"; "On Thursday, January 23 the bear gave birth to cubs." The warning "This is no place for idlers, move on, Loiterer," recalls our own "Post No Bills." Others are mere idle scribblings resulting from the cacoethes scribendi which seems to have afflicted the infantile mind at all times and in all places since the beginnings of writing. The American Indian painstakingly engraved not only his guide signs and important tribal records on the rocks but also his little nothings of sentiment and opinion. In contrast we may recall the impermanent rustic inscriptions on the frosted window pane immortalized for us by John Poole[15] a hundred years ago: "J. P. dind hear on the 13th of Februry," and "Susen Miles is a beatifull cretear," etc. In these days of plentiful lead pencils and crayons no plane surface in public places anywhere from garage door to public monument is likely to escape such inscriptions. Many ancient authors mention the use of walls and pillars to record sentiments or to post notices, Pliny the Younger,[16] Martial,[17] and Plautus[18] among them.

It is not remarkable then that the walls of Pompeii were decorated or defaced with graffiti, but it is extraordinary that

---

[15] John Poole (1839), *Little Pedlington.*

[16] Plin., *Ep.*, VIII, 8: Leges multa omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta.

[17] Mart., XII, 61 ff.: Carbone et creta scribit carmina.

[18] Plaut., *Merc.*, 409: Impleantur elegeorum meae fores carbonibus.

these trifling notes should have been preserved for us, and that they should, in connection with other remains, throw so much light on the minds and manners of this people of long ago. Some 15,000 of them have been uncovered and we shall have frequent occasion to refer to them in the following pages. The graffiti, despite numerous errors in spelling and grammar, give us the impression of a high degree of literacy among the lower classes. We find numerous quotations from Vergil and some from Propertius, Ovid, Lucretius, and others, not always accurate to be sure, but showing a wide acquaintance with the best Roman literature. One inscription reads, "Everybody writes on the walls but me," and we might almost believe it. Probably many of the notices and messages scrawled on the walls were intended for the visitors rather than for local people.[19] No doubt the visitors and the summer residents made many of the graffiti.

Professor Mau regrets [20] that the information to be gleaned from the graffiti concerns the common people rather than the well-to-do, the persons of refinement. He says, "The cultivated men and women of the ancient city were not accustomed to scratch their names upon the stucco or to confide their reflections and experiences to the surface of a wall; we may assume that the writers were . . . not representative of the best elements of society." But this makes them particularly valuable for our present study.

The numerous portable objects found in Pompeii in the course of excavation are now in the little museum on the grounds or have been removed to the Naples Museum. These include cooking utensils and furniture, toilet articles, toys, etc. In the new excavations, however, these objects are carefully restored to the spot where they originally stood, as nearly as possible. We have another source of information in the fresco paintings that were found on the walls of public and private buildings. Most of these also are in the Naples Museum, removed from the buildings with infinite care and

[19] Cf. Nissen, p. 116.

[20] Mau-Kelsey, p. 491.

much difficulty, together with the mosaic pictures for wall or floor made by setting hundreds of small colored stones or pieces of glass into a pattern. These pictures are so lively that it seems extremely probable that they represent actual scenes and living persons.[21] The types of men and women are similar to those to be seen in Naples today. The pictures showing activities in the forum may still be matched by the sights to be observed any day by the traveller in southern Italy.

As one strolls about the streets of a Campanian hamlet and hears the good-natured banter and repartee of the natives, seated in their doorways, calling to one another and to the passers-by, one feels that it is not difficult to reconstruct in imagination the Pompeii of the graffiti.

In the following pages we purpose to examine these inscriptions in groups according to the kind of persons mentioned in them, but always from among the common people.

[21] Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 73.

CHAPTER II

THE CLOTHING TRADES

By far the most important representatives of the clothing trades in Pompeii were the fullers,[1] fullones. They constituted also the largest and most important[2] of the corporations or guilds in the city, as is proved by the existence of the magnificent Exchange for the use of the trade. This building was two stories high, with a large court surrounded by a colonnade. It was called the Eumachia[3] because a city priestess of that name erected it; the fullers put up a statue in her honor which was set in a niche at the back of the hall. The Exchange faced on the Forum and ran back on Abundance Street.

The fullers received the cloth directly from the loom and proceeded to wash it by treading it in tubs with water and soda or other alkaline reagents. It was next treated with fullers' earth and then beaten with wooden mallets to make the texture closer, and washed again to clean and shrink it. They then brushed it with tools made for the purpose, sometimes teazel burs,[4] to raise the nap. The cloth was finally bleached with sulphur, and rubbed with some sort of dry, white earth. After pressing, it was ready to go out for use as garments. It might come back later to be dyed or cleaned or both. Washing would, of course, always precede the dyeing.

[1] Marquardt, *Privatleben*, pp. 501-550; Mau-Kelsey, chap. 48; Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, pp. 326 ff.; Blümner, *Technologie*, I, pp. 170-190, 222-224, 225-257, 263-292; Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* "Fullonica"; Guhl and Koner, pp. 474-486; Overbeck, pp. 390-396, 381-382; Ovid, *Fast.*, III, 817-821; Wilson, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, pp. 27-30.

[2] Frank, *Economic History*, p. 262.

[3] Mau-Kelsey, pp. 110 ff.; chap. 15; Overbeck, pp. 131-136.

[4] Either Dipsacus Sylvestris or Dipsacus Fullonum.

With the preparation and the manufacture of raw materials the fullers had nothing to do.

All Roman citizens were obliged by law to wear the voluminous white toga in public, a cumbersome garment, and easily soiled. Cleaning the white togas was one of the chief offices of the fullery. The clothes were put into the tubs and cleaned by treading (Fig. 2), as they were far too heavy to be washed by hand, and dried by being spread over a frame, and, finally, they were put into the press (Fig. 3). It is not surprising, therefore, that fullers were more numerous in Pompeii than any other kind of workers except perhaps bakers.

Four fulleries, fullonicae, have been found thus far in the course of excavating Pompeii,[5] and it is probable that another workshop is also a fullery. The largest is described by Professor Mau.[6] Here we find the fullery built into what was originally a private house, as is the case in many of the other shops in Pompeii.[7] The workshop contains the foundations of three tubs for treading the clothes, and a place to hold the press for smoothing them after they were washed or dyed. In the peristyle were three large masonry basins for soaking and rinsing. The particular interest attaching to this establishment lies in the paintings found on its walls which give an excellent idea of the process of fulling and dyeing.

The four pictures in this series were copied before the colors had faded. The originals are now in the Naples Museum. In Fig. 2 [8] four men are standing in four niches such as those still to be seen in the ruins of the fullery. One, much larger than the others, in fact he is out of proportion to them, is treading garments, supporting his two arms on the pillars at the sides of his niche. The other three are rinsing garments

[5] Mau-Ippel, *Führer* (Index); Warscher, *Führer*; Engelmann, *Guide*.

[6] Mau-Kelsey, pp. 393 ff. [7] See p. 4.

[8] *Real Museo Borbonico*, IV, 49; Helbig, 1502; Blümner, I, fig. 70; Mau-Kelsey, fig. 225; Jahn, Taf. IV; Dyer, p. 361; Overbeck, fig. 195; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 2019 ("Cortina") and fig. 3303 ("Fullonica").

by hand. The fullers are dressed in tunics girded up high with broad sashes. The second picture, Fig. 3,[9] presents the fullers' press. It is similar to the machines we use today for pressing paper in a bindery and for other purposes. It is composed of two heavy posts fastened together by a cross beam at the top. A board is attached to the posts and above it are

Fig. 2. Fullers at Work.

several movable boards between which pieces of cloth might be laid for pressing. The pressure is regulated by two vises turned by means of rods inserted below. The third picture, Fig. 4,[10] shows a youth in a short tunic brushing a piece of cloth to raise the nap. The cloth is decorated with wavy stripes; it hangs over a rod which is suspended from the ceiling by cords. At the left in the foreground a woman is seated on a stool. She wears a gold hair net and gold necklace

[9] *Real Museo Borbonico*, IV, 50; Helbig, 1502; Blümner, I, fig. 73; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 5796 ("Pressorium"); Overbeck, fig. 196; Dyer, p. 364; Mau-Kelsey, fig. 227.

[10] *Real Museo Borbonico*, IV, 49; Helbig, 1502; Blümner, I, fig. 71; Jahn, Taf. IV; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 3302 ("Fullonica"); Overbeck, fig. 194; Mau-Kelsey, fig. 226; Appul., *Met.*, IX, 24: Viminea cava quae candido fumo sulfuris inalbabat.

and bracelets. She seems to be engaged in discussing a piece of work with a young girl who stands before her, holding a needle in her left hand, as she receives a garment from the

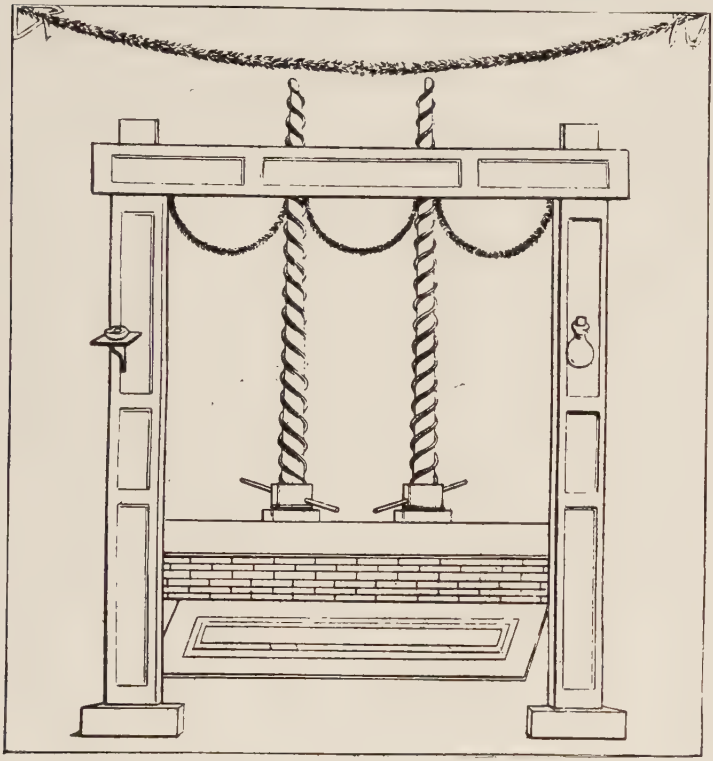

Fig. 3. The Fullers' Press.

woman with her right. A second young man advances from the right, supporting on his shoulders a light wicker frame which he holds with his right hand. This was probably used for bleaching or drying cloth, which was spread out over it. In his left hand he carries the fumigating bucket. The owl perched on the frame is sacred to Minerva, the patron of all the industries, as is also the olive which we see used as a wreath on the youth's head. In the last picture of the series,

Fig. 5,[11] we see a boy in a short tunic handing a piece of cloth to a girl who stands facing him. Perhaps she is receiving a garment to be cleaned and the young man is a customer. A second girl at the right is seated on a three-legged stool.

Fig. 4. Work at the Fullery.

She holds an oblong object, perhaps a brush or teazel, in her left hand, which rests on her lap, and seems to be passing a small stick or another brush over it. Probably she is cleaning one of the brushes used for teasing the cloth. In the background garments are hanging up on rods. There is also a

[11] *Real Museo Borbonico*, IV, 50; Helbig, 1502; Blümner, I, fig. 72; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 3304 ("Fullonica").

painting in the Amorini series from the House of the Vettii showing fullers at work treading the cloth and combing it.[12]

In the inscriptions we find the fullers mentioned twenty-four times,[13] most of them in simple election notices which record merely the name of the candidate, the position for

Fig. 5. At the Fullery.

which he stands and the name or designation of the supporter. For instance, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, commonly referred to as *C. I. L.*, No. 3478 of Volume IV, L. Ceium Secundum IIvirum iure dicundo Primus fullo rogat, "Primus the fuller asks for support for Lucius Ceius Secundus as duumvir." Again we have, in *C. I. L.*, IV, 4120,

[12] Engelmann, fig. 42; Mau-Ippel, fig. 27.

[13] *C.I.L.*, IV, 998, 2966, 3476, 3478, 3529, 4100, 4102, 4103, 4106, 4107, 4109, 4112, 4118, 4120; *Not. Scav.*, 1913, p. 147 (7 times).

Cresces fullonibus salutem, hic et ubique, "Crescens wishes the fullers good health here and everywhere," or perhaps the tone is better reproduced by transposing: "Good health to the fullers! from Crescens," like the modern words of cheer on a postal card. In the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1912 we find: Holconium Priscum IIvirum fullones universi rogant, in which the United Fullers support Holconius. One curious graffito is worth noting. A fuller, Fabius Ululitremulus[14] by name, shows his loyalty to Minerva, the protector of the fullones, who sing a song to her sacred owl: Ululam ego cano, non arma virumque, "The owl I sing, not 'arms and the man.'"

Two pictures showing cloth dealers selling their goods will be found in Chapter VI, p. 58, Figs. 30 and 31.

We have dyeing establishments in various parts of the city, and one which interests us especially because of the fresco paintings on the doorway at the entrance.[15] This business belonged to M. Vecilius Verecundus, a manufacturer of woolen cloth and garments of felt such as slippers, gloves and hats, also ribbons and gimp, etc., as well as linen garments. He was vestiarius, i. e. vestiarius negotiator, a dealer in clothes or a manufacturer of them. The painting on the left (Fig. 6) of the entrance shows four felters, coactiliari, engaged in their labors, and three other workers weaving galloons, while the proprietor displays a piece of heavy fabric, probably the product of his workshop, textrina. In Fig. 7, painted on the right of the doorway, a woman, perhaps the wife of the merchant, is seated in the shop at a counter selling goods made of felt. A small show case may also be seen, A customer, sitting on a bench at the right, seems to be buying a pair of slippers.

Two dyers' workshops have been found, separate from the

[14] *Not. Scav.*, 1913, p. 147 and note by Della Corte; also Della Corte, *Case* (1930), pp. 37, 45-6.

[15] Della Corte, *Pompéi* (1935), figs. 2 and 3; Engelmann, fig. 99; Mau-Ippel, fig. 58; Ippel, fig. 42.

Fig. 6. Vestiarii.

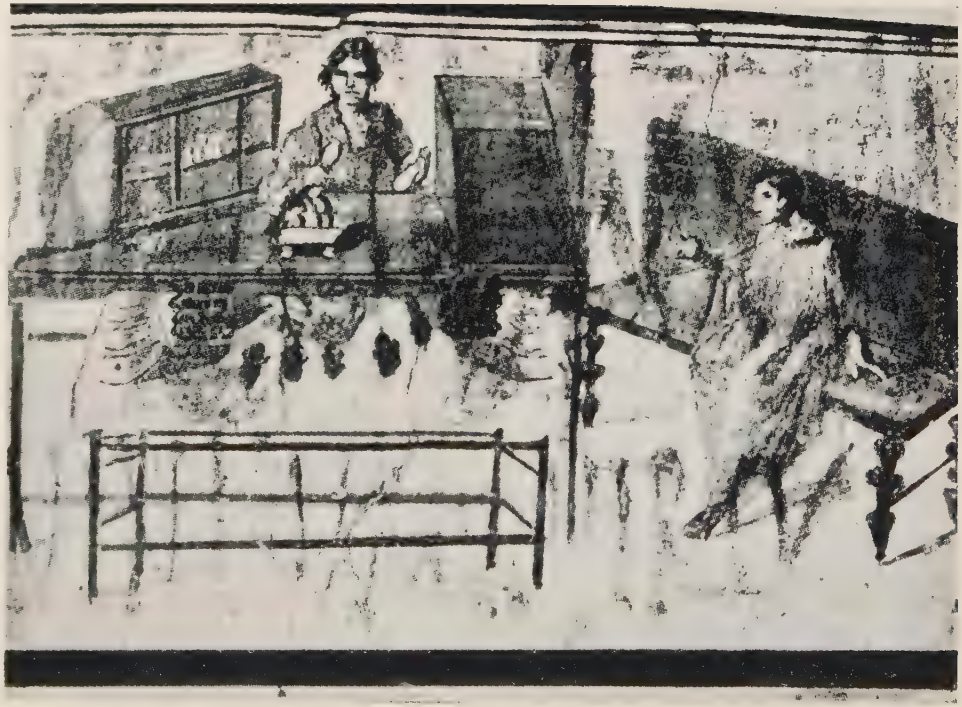

Fig. 7. Felter's Shop.

fullers. One had a yard for drying the dyed cloth. Here were found many glass bottles containing colors. In the other there were many jars with rings eaten into the glass at the level at which the liquid stood when Pompeii was overwhelmed. The two kinds of dyers were offectores,[16] who, properly, redipped old and faded clothes into the original color to freshen them, and infectores,[17] who dyed clothes that had never been colored, or else redyed them a different color.[18] Cotinus, the Venetian sumac, of which the wood was used to produce a purple color, is mentioned twice.[19]

A tannery [20] was situated near the Stabian gate. Here were found fifteen vats of masonry, deep pits for the usual process, while several oblong basins lined with wood for tanning very fine leather were near by.

There are references in the graffiti to lana,[21] wool; stamen,[22] the warp, twice, once in an inscription giving the date when a piece of spinning was begun; and tunica,[23] several times, twice with mention of a price. It would seem that the first notes that a tunic was washed for one denarius; the second mentions fifteen sesterces, perhaps the price of the garment; another is, tunica lintea aurata, a gold-edged or embroidered tunic.

Among the workers mentioned are lanifricarius,[24] wool washer; lintearius,[25] a linen weaver or merchant; coactiliari, the felters, appear three times,[26] all in election notices

[16] *C.I.L.*, IV, 864.

[17] *Not. Scav.*, 1912, p. 139.

[18] Paulus ex Festo, p. 99, Lindsay: Infectores, qui alienum colorem in lanam coiciunt; offectores, qui proprio colori novum officiunt.

[19] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1604, 6820.

[20] Mau-Kelsey, pp. 397 ff.; Warscher, *Führer*, fig. 53; Blümner, I, fig. 83.

[21] *C.I.L.*, IV, 5363, 6714; *Not. Scav.*, 1902, p. 205.

[22] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1507; *Not. Scav.*, 1912, p. 222.

[23] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1392, 1393, 2306, 3951, 4428; *Not. Scav.*, 1913, p. 83; 1912, p. 188.

[24] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1190; cf. also Fiorelli, *Giornali degli Scavi*, 1862, p. 85.

[25] *C.I.L.*, IV, 2308.

[26] *Not. Scav.*, 1912, pp. 136, 177, 188.

(rogant); we find also vestiarius,[27] a tailor or dealer in clothes, and sagarius,[28] a maker or seller of capes for peasants and soldiers. A textor,[29] weaver, is mentioned in a purely personal way with no reference to his occupation. Sutores, shoemakers, complete the list of workers on clothing. They are found in two inscriptions[30] with mention of two tools, scal-

FIG. 8. SHOEMAKERS.

prum angulatum, the curved knife, and subula, an awl; also veterarius, which stands for veteramentarius,[31] an epithet of sutor, a cobbler, qui veteres calceos reficit.[32]

There are two wall paintings showing dealers in shoes selling their wares in the streets (Figs. 28, 29, p. 57). In another one from Herculaneum[33] we see two cupids (Fig. 8) working at a shoemaker's bench with a cabinet full of shoes in the background.

[27] *C.I.L.*, IV, 3130.

[28] *C.I.L.*, IV, 753.

[29] See below, p. 87.

[30] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1995, 1712.

[31] *Not. Scav.*, 1915, p. 423; Della Corte, p. 40.

[32] Suet., *Vit.*, 2.

[33] Jahn, Taf. VI, 1; *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, I, 35, p. 187; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 522 ("Armarium"); Overbeck, fig. 305b; Helbig, 804; Blümner, I, fig. 95.

CHAPTER III

THE BAKERS

The bakers,[1] pistores, who were both millers and bakers in ancient times, constituted one of the most important guilds in Pompeii. Of the twenty public baking establishments, pistrinae, which have been uncovered so far in the course of excavating the city, three are of special interest: One is well preserved; in another, a mill has been reconstructed which works very well; one of the largest we shall now consider.

An examination of the plan of this bakery shows that the principal part of it, the place where the milling was done, pistrinum, was attached to the house of the proprietor. There were four mills, molae, so placed as to afford ample room for the movement of the donkeys that turned them. Adjoining the mill room on one side we find the stable for the animals; at the other side were the kneading room, the oven and the storeroom, where the loaves of bread were placed when they were done. Sleeping quarters for the slaves were close by.

The most important source of information about the activities of the bakers is the tomb of Eurysaces in Rome.[2] Its sculptured frieze enables us to visualize the labor connected with the business of breadmaking and the various steps in the process.

The mills were made of local lava, indeed the export of millstones was one of the industries of Pompeii. The lower stone, the bed, called meta, was in the form of a cone; it was fixed into a heavy base with a raised edge which formed a

[1] Mau-Kelsey, pp. 388-392; Overbeck, pp. 385-390; Blümner, I, pp. 1-96; Marquardt, pp. 414-423; Guhl and Koner, pp. 518-521; Michon, *Des Céréales*, pp. 19-111; Daremberg et Saglio, *s. vv.* "Mola," "Frumenta."

[2] Mau, *Bull. Inst.*, I, pp. 45 ff.; Dennie, *Rome of To-day*, p. 108.

trough into which the milled grain fell. This word is found in a Pompeian inscription which was probably a memorandum:[3] Binae molae; ex XIIII K. Apriles diaria reliquimus, "A pair of millstones; we left a daily allowance of food from the middle of March." The upper stone, the runner, called catillus, was in the shape of an hourglass. It fitted over the

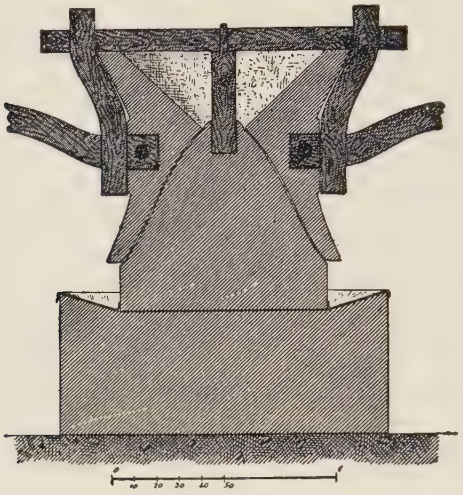

Fig. 9. Reconstructed Mill.

lower in such a way that the grain, when poured into the top, would slide down over the point of the cone and be caught between the two stones as the runner turned over the bed. The distance between the two stones could be regulated for fineness in grinding. A wooden frame fitted over the sides and top of the upper stone, as may be seen in Fig. 9,[4] which is a restoration by Professor Mau. The donkey was harnessed to shafts projecting from the frame with a chain or collar[5]

[3] *C.I.L.*, IV, 6733; *Not. Scav.*, 1901, p. 257.

[4] Mau-Kelsey, fig. 221; Engelmann, fig. 83.

[5] Overbeck, fig. 186; Mau-Kelsey, fig. 222; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 5106 ("Mola"); Blümner, I, fig. 20.

attached to the top of it. Fig. 10 [6] presents a mill without the framework, thus allowing us to see the opening into which the shafts were inserted. Sometimes instead of donkeys slaves were used to turn the mills by pushing the shafts. This labor in the bakery was a greatly dreaded punishment, as is proved by references to it in Roman comedy.[7] It is impossible to

Fig. 10. A Mill.

say why the River Sarno was not harnessed for this purpose, but no evidence of the existence of water mills in Pompeii has been found.

A fresco on the walls of the Macellum, a market building, presents cupids as millers celebrating the festival of Vesta, their patron (Fig. 11).[8] There is a mill in the background and the workers have decked the donkeys with wreaths.

---

[6] Mau-Kelsey, fig. 220; Engelmann, fig. 84.

[7] Plaut., *Pers.*, 21 ff.; *Poen.*, 827 f.; Ter., *And.*, 199 ff.; *Phorm.*, 249.

[8] Helbig, 777; *Real Museo Borbonico*, VI, 51; Dyer, p. 111; Blümner, I, fig. 23; Jahn, Taf. VI, 4; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 7416 ("Vestalia"); Ovid, *Fast.*, VI, 311, 12:

Ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis,
Et velant scabras florida serta molas.

"Behold the bread will hang from the necks of the wreathed donkeys, and flowery garlands hide the rough mills."

Fig. 11. The Vestalia.

With mills of so primitive a type it was not possible to grind the flour in large quantities in a relatively short time, and it was necessary to have many bakeries to meet the needs of the inhabitants. Niccolini thought [9] that this explained the large number of bakeries in Pompeii, a circumstance which at first led the excavators to the conclusion that baking was the most extensive industry in the city. This does not, however, seem a complete explanation, as it would always have been possible to grind grain enough in advance to keep the ovens supplied. Another reason why so many bakeries were needed for a town of the size of Pompeii is the fact that baking was so slow a process. It was necessary to build a fire inside the oven and to let it reach the proper heat for baking. When it was hot enough the ashes were raked out, the loaves put in, and the oven shut up to keep the heat in. When the bread was done, the oven would be too cool to bake another batch.

Besides the public baking ovens many of the private houses had ovens in which bread or cake might be baked if the family desired something that could not be furnished by the public bakers. But except in rare instances there were no mills in private houses.

We are familiar with the bread of ancient days from the carbonized remains (Fig. 12) which were in the ovens when Pompeii was destroyed; they were uncovered in the course of excavating and are now in the Naples Museum.[10] The loaves were scored into eight wedges, and were flat, like the bread used today by the Syrians, with very little crumb. The name of the baker was stamped on every loaf. Bread is shown in many wall paintings; one of the most interesting (Fig. 13) [11] represents an aedile or some other city magistrate seated on a high stool behind a counter, handing out bread. Behind him

[9] Niccolini, *Le Case ed i Monumenti*, III.

[10] Reinhardt, *Kulturgeschichte der Nutzpflanzen*, IV, 1, p. 702; Thédenat, *Pompéi, Vie publique*, fig. 64; Dyer, p. 360.

[11] Helbig, 1501; Jahn, Taf. III; Blümner, I, fig. 35; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 5699 ("Pistor"); Cagnat et Chapot, II, fig. 483; Gusman, p. 243.

Fig. 12. Carbonized Bread.

Fig. 13. Distribution of Bread.

rises a set of shelves on which bread is stacked. Lying on the counter we see more piles of bread and a basket of rolls. The loaves appear larger in diameter than the carbonized remains found in Pompeii, and they seem to be scored in ten wedges. This picture is generally supposed to represent the selling of bread, but as there is no money in sight it would seem rather to be a free distribution of bread, a custom which was common enough. Juvenal's famous expression panem et circenses [12] is still quoted to mean free gifts to please and amuse the populace.

Another picture (Fig. 14) [13] shows a table in the street with two baskets containing small wares, like the rolls and biscotti sold by Italian bakers today both in Italy and in the Italian quarters in New York; a larger basket on the ground is filled with more of them.

In the inscriptions pistor, the miller and baker, is found three times.[14] In the third one we find that the bakers are using all their influence on behalf of their candidate: Cn. Helvium Sabinum aedilem pistores rogant et cupiunt cum vicinis. They do not merely urge his election, but they say that they *desire* him to win. An inscription mentioning pistor dulciarius, a pastry cook, is discussed by Breton.[15] Libarius,[16] the pastry cook, qui liba vendit, also appears.

We also find siliginem,[17] flour, mentioned and tritici modius,[18] a peck of wheat. Panis (panem), bread, occurs in eight graffiti,[19] in one of them (*C. I. L.*, IV, 5380) several times. This would seem to be a shopping list or a memorandum concerning goods received over a period of a week. Besides listing oil, wine, cheese and vegetables,[20] it mentions

[12] Juv., X, 81. This applies to Rome.

[13] Helbig, 1497; *Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano*, III, 42, p. 221; Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 5700 ("Pistor").

[14] *C.I.L.*, IV, 875; 886; *Not. Scav.*, 1912, p. 288.

[15] Breton, p. 366; Mart., XIV, 222.

[16] *C.I.L.*, IV, 1768, 1769. [17] *C.I.L.*, IV, 4889. [18] *C.I.L.*, IV, 4811.

[19] *C.I.L.*, IV, 429, 4227, 4888, 5380; *Not. Scav.*, 1880, p. 396. *C.I.L.*, IV, 6716, 6877; *Not. Scav.*, 1911, p. 220.

[20] See below, p. 31.

bread at least once every day. On the 8th day before the Ides (the sixth or the eighth day of the month) we find pane VIII; the 7th, pane VIII and also pane puero II. Perhaps this was a slave's ration. On the 6th, pane VIII and puero pane IV; on the 5th, pane VIII; 4th, pane II, triticum,

Fig. 14. Bread Peddler.

pane IV; 3rd, pane II, pane puero II; on the day before the Ides, puero pane II, pane cibar. II; on the Ides, pane II, pane cibar. II. Panis cibarius, according to Isidorus,[21] was for the servants, a coarse bread. Two others are, panem bonum fert,[22] "he supplies good bread," as a reason for the election of the candidate, probably as an aedile; and finally: "On the 18th of April I made bread," XIIII K. Maias panem feci, which is interesting to us too, but for a different reason!

[21] Isid., *Orig.*, 20, 2, 15; Cic., *Tusc.*, 5, 34, 97. [22] *C.I.L.*, IV, 429.

VITA

Helen H. Tanzer was born on February 7, 1876, in New York City. After receiving her early education at the hands of tutors and in private schools, she entered Barnard College, Columbia University, where she received the degree of A. B. in 1903. From 1904 to 1910 she studied at Columbia University in the field of Classical Archaeology and Latin and Greek. In 1906-1907 she studied at the American School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome, and during that time she had the privilege of studying not only at the American School but also the German Archaeological Institute, under Professor Christian Hülsen and Professor A. Mau, whose courses she also followed at Pompeii.

For several years she taught at Hunter College of the City of New York, where she reached the grade of Associate Professor. From 1930 to 1937 she taught Latin, Greek, and Archaeology at Brooklyn College and in 1937 retired as Professor of Classical Languages. She is the author of *The Villas of Pliny the Younger* (1922), the translator of Hülsen's *Forum und Palatin* (1928), *The Letters of Pliny the Younger* (1936), as well as the author of several articles.

The year 1926-1927 she spent at the Johns Hopkins University as a full time student. Then and since then her studies have been under the direction of Professor David M. Robinson. She has received great profit and pleasure in the pursuit of her studies, especially under Professor David M. Robinson, who suggested the subject of this dissertation and made many valuable criticisms and suggestions.